

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 152425

EXDIS MILITARY ADDRESSEES HANDLEAS SPECAT EXCLUSIVE

FOLL: REPEAT NATO 3472 ACTION SECSTATE INFO BONN OTTAWA J

UN 27

QUOTE

C O N F I D E N T I A L USNATO 3472

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: MPOL, NATO, CA

SUBJECT: CANADIAN DEFENSE STRUCTURE REVIEW; UNITED STATES

COMMENTS

REF: A. USNATO 3323

B. USNATO 3435

DEPARTMENT PLEASE PASS SECDEF, CINCLANT, USCINCEUR, USLOSACLANT,
USNMR SHAPE

1. AS REPORTED BY SEPARATE TELEGRAM, DURING BILATERAL CONSULTA-
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TIONS JUNE 26 ON THE CANADIAN DEFENSE REVIEW THE CANADIAN TEAM
PRESSED STRONGLY FOR A DEFINITIVE, WRITTEN REPLY TO THEIR PAPER
OF JUNE 18 (REF A). I MADE NO COMMITMENT TO DO THIS, ON TWO
GROUNDS. FIRST, WE DO NOT DAYIRE TO PREJUDICE THE NEED FOR FULL

MULTILATERAL CONSULTATIONS BY OVER-ENGAGING IN BILATERAL ONES. SECOND, THE CANADIAN PLAN FOR ITS CONTRIBUTION OF FORCES LOCATED AT HOME, BUT EARMARKED FOR EUROPEAN DEFENSE, IS NOT YET IN HAND.

2. THE FIRST CONCERN EVAPORATED AT THE MEETING. MENZIES COMMITTED CANADA TO FULL AND FORMAL CONSULTATIONS WITH THE U.S. AND MULTILATERALLY ON EVERY ASPECT OF THE REVIEW. NO ANSWERS EMERGED TO MEET THE SECOND CONCERN. RATHER, THE CANADIAN PARTICIPANTS PRESSED STRONGLY FOR WRITTEN U.S. COMMENTS ON THE OPTIONS WHICH WOULD GIVE CANADIAN OFFICIALS LEVERAGE WITH THEIR MINISTERS ON REPLACEMENT OF CENTURION TANKS AND F-104 AIRCRAFT. THEY FULLY UNDERSTAND THAT ANY SUCH U.S. RESPONSE NEEDS TO BE HEDGED WITH OUR JUDGMENT THAT CENTER REGION FORCES SHOULD NOT BE THE ONLY ONES TO GET ATTENTION IN FORWARD ALLIANCE DEFENSE PLANNING. THEY WANT, HOWEVER, TO BE ABLE TO GIVE KEY POLITICIANS NOW SOME AUTHORITATIVE U.S. VIEWS ON THE POLITICAL AND MILITARY IMPORTANCE OF CANADIAN FORCES STATIONED IN GERMANY. THE FRG HAS PROVIDED SUCH VIEWS IN WRITING (REF B).

3. I BELIEVE THAT, IN THE CIRCUMSTANCE OF APPARENT CANADIAN UNCERTAINTIES, WE HAVE AN OPPORTUNITY AT THIS STAGE TO HELP TO BLOCK A POSSIBLE EROSION IN THE CANADIAN CONTRIBUTION TO ALLIED DEFENSES IN ACE. BASED ON OUR DISCUSSIONS HERE, I DOUBT THAT THE CHOICE LIES BETWEEN PRESENT DISPOSITIONS OR AN IMPROVED CANADIAN CONTRIBUTION. RATHER, IT MORE LIKELY LIES BETWEEN ROUGHLY THE PRESENT CONTRIBUTION OF GROUND AND AIR FORCES OR A DETERIORATION IN THE EFFICACY OF CANADA'S FORCES IN THE CRUCIAL CENTRAL REGION. THIS SUGGESTS THAT WE SHOULD PROVIDE A BRIEF STATEMENT OF OUR VIEWS IN STRAIGHTFORWARD LANGUAGE THAT CAN BE USED BY OFFICIALS SEEKING TO AT LEAST MAINTAIN CANADA'S PRESENT CONTRIBUTION IN THE FURTHER DISCUSSIONS WE ARE TOLD WILL TAKE PLACE SHORTLY IN OTTAWA. IF WE ARE TO INFLUENCE CANADIAN THINKING, WE WILL NOT, I BELIEVE, HAVE TIME TO PREPARE EXTENSIVE U.S. OR NATO MULTILATERAL STUDIES. OUR BASIC VIEWS ARE NEEDED NOW TO INFLUENCE THE MAIN LINES OF CANADIAN DECISIONS, AND DETAILED STUDIES CAN FOLLOW ON THE POSITIONS SUBSEQUENTLY ADVANCED BY THE CANADIANS.

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4. WE HAVE SEPARATELY AND FRANKLY TOLD THE CANADIANS HERE OF OUR FEELING, SHARED BY MANY OF THE ALLIES, THAT THEIR BUDGET FOR DEFENSE IS GROSSLY DISPROPORTIONATE TO THEIR NATIONAL RESOURCES. THEY ARE FULLY AWARE OF THIS, AND I BELIEVE THEIR DELEGATION HERE HAS STRONGLY URGED ITS GOVERNMENT TO INCREASE SUBSTANTIALLY IN REAL TERMS ITS CONTRIBUTION TO NATO. THIS IS A DELICATE POLITICAL SUBJECT IN OTTAWA, AND NOT ONE WHICH I THINK SHOULD BE DEALT WITH IN THE U.S. DRAFT TEXT WHICH WE ARE SUGGESTING AT THIS TIME AND WHICH I ASSUME WILL, IF APPROVED BY WASHINGTON, BE SHOWN TO CANADIAN CABINET OFFICIALS.

5. THE FOLLOWING DRAFT TEXT IS GENERAL ENOUGH TO HEDGE OUR POSITION FOR LATER PHASES OF CONSULTATION, BUT SPECIFIC ENOUGH

TO PROVIDE CANADIAN OFFICIALS WITH THE ARGUMENTS I AM CONVINCED THEY NEED. IF WASHINGTON AGREES, I WOULD APPRECIATE AUTHORIZATION TO PROVIDE IT TO THE CANADIAN DELEGATION THE WEEK OF JUNE 29.
BEGIN TEXT:

THE UNITED STATES WELCOMES THE OPPORTUNITY TO PROVIDE THE FOLLOWING COMMENTS ON THE PAPER ENTITLED "CANADIAN DEFENSE STRUCTURE REVIEW", DATED JUNE 18, 1975, DEALING WITH THE CANADIAN CONTRIBUTION OF FORCES PRESENTLY LOCATED IN EUROPE.

(1) CANADA'S STANDING FORCES IN EUROPE ARE A VITAL ELEMENT OF THE CANADIAN CONTRIBUTION TO ALLIANCE DEFENSE. CANADA'S TOTAL CONTRIBUTION, OF COURSE, ALSO INCLUDES ESSENTIAL ELEMENTS OF LAND AND AIR REINFORCEMENT FORCES, MARITIME FORCES, AND OTHER FORCES THAT COULD BE USED TO ASSIST IN EUROPEAN DEFENSE SHOULD THE NEED ARISE. THEREFORE, THESE COMMENTS SHOULD NOT BE CONSTRUED IN ANY WAY AS REFLECTING A JUDGMENT THAT FORWARD-BASED FORCES SHOULD BE STRESSED AT THE EXPENSE OF THE OTHER ESSENTIAL ELEMENTS.

(2) THE UNITED STATES ATTACHES GREAT IMPORTANCE TO THE PRINCIPLE THAT NATO FORCES SHOULD NOT BE REDUCED EXCEPT IN THE CONTEXT OF A MUTUAL AND BALANCED FORCE REDUCTION AGREEMENT WITH THE EAST.

(3) CANADA'S FORWARD-BASED LAND AND AIR FORCES BOTH CONTRIBUTE SIGNIFICANTLY TO DETERRENCE OF THE WARSAW PACT. CANADIAN LAND FORCES COMPLEMENT LAND FORCES OF OTHER ALLIES IN THE AREA. AIR FORCES ARE ESSENTIAL TO ROUND OUT THE INTEGRAL NATURE OF THE CANADIAN CONTRIBUTION TO DETERRENCE AGAINST ALL LIKELY FORMS OF ATTACK.

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(4) CANADIAN STANDING FORCES, ALTHOUGH MODEST IN COMPARISON WITH THOSE OF THE UNITED STATES, PROVIDE CONVINCING EVIDENCE THAT THE NORTH AMERICAN ALLIES SUPPORT THE VIEW THAT WESTERN DEFENSE BEGINS AT THE ELBE. EUROPEAN ALLIES, ESPECIALLY THE FRG, ARE HEARTENED BY THIS COMMITMENT, WHICH IS THE PARAMOUNT EXAMPLE OF TRANSATLANTIC SOLIDARITY. CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES ENJOY A POSITION OF RELATIVE SECURITY IN THE EVENT OF WAR SHORT OF STRATEGIC EXCHANGE. THE ALLIES RECALL THE NORTH AMERICAN COMMITMENT TO THEIR DEFENSE IN TWO WARS, AND SEE PRESENT U.S.-CANADIAN STANDING FORCE CONTRIBUTIONS IN EUROPE AS A GUARANTEE OF THE CONTINUED INTEREST OF THE NORTH AMERICANS IN THEIR DEFENSE.

(5) WERE THE NATURE AND EXTENT OF THE PRESENT CANADIAN MIXED LAND/AIR FORCE TO BE CHANGED, CANADA'S ALLIES WOULD BE LED TO ASK WHETHER CANADA'S COMMITMENT TO WESTERN DEFENSE HAD BEEN ALTERED. SUCH CHANGES MIGHT ALSO SET AN UNFORTUNATE PRECEDENT, CREATING PRESSURES FOR SIMILAR CHANGES IN THE FORCE POSTURES OF OTHER ALLIES, INCLUDING THE UNITED STATES.

(6) ALTHOUGH CHANGES IN ROLES ENVISAGED BY SOME OF THE CANADIAN OPTIONS WOULD REQUIRE HIGHLY DETAILED STUDY, THE UNITED STATES STRONGLY FAVORS CONTINUATION OF THE MIXED LAND/AIR FORCE, MODERNIZED AS NECESSARY TO MEET AGREED NATO FORCE GOALS FOR CANADA.

(7) THE CANADIAN MECHANIZED BRIGADE GROUP PROVIDES THE ONLY RESERVE FOR THE CENTRAL ARMY GROUP (CENTAG). SINCE THE MOST

DISADVANTAGEOUS DISPARITY CONFRONTING NATO IS THE WARSAW PACT'S IMPRESSIVE ARMORED SUPERIORITY, THIS CANADIAN RESERVE MUST CONTAIN A FIRST-CLASS TANK FORMATION THAT CAN MOVE RAPIDLY TO MEET A BREAK-THROUGH ANYWHERE ALONG THE ARMY GROUP FRONT. THIS FUNCTION CANNOT BE PERFORMED BY LIGHTER MECHANIZED VEHICLES, AIRMOBILE UNITS, OR LIGHT ANTI-ARMOR FORMATIONS.

(8) CANADA'S LAND AND AIR FORCE CONTINGENTS, THOUGH PERHAPS RELATIVELY MODEST, PROVIDE A SOUND BASE FOR BUILDING UP BALANCED FORCE LEVELS IN THE EVENT OF RISING TENSION.

(9) ALTHOUGH THE CONCEPT OF RATIONALIZATION/SPECIALIZATION DESERVES SUSTAINED EXPLORATION FOR COST-EFFECTIVENESS, THERE IS A LIMIT TO ITS APPLICATION, SINCE IT IS IMPORTANT THAT ALL ALLIES SHARE THE BURDEN OF PROVIDING SHOULDER-TO-SHOULDER SOLIDARITY IN FRONT-LINE COMBAT COMMITMENT. MOREOVER, A CANADIAN RETREAT FROM ITS CURRENT GROUND AND AIR CONTRIBUTIONS, ESPECIALLY IF BASED ON ARGUMENTS RELATED TO SPECIALIZATION IN COMBAT ROLES, COULD PROMPT OTHER NATIONS TO CONSIDER CHANGES ALONG THE SAME LINES, TO THE GENERAL DETRIMENT OF ALLIANCE DEFENSE.
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(10) MOST OF THE "VARIATIONS" IN THE CANADIAN PAPER WOULD INVOLVE, FIRST, REDUCING THE NKMBER OF TANKS OR THE NUMBER OF MEN ALONG THE CENTRAL FRONT, OR, SECOND, WOULD INVOLVE "SP-ECIALIZING" IN THE COMMAND AND CONTROL OR MANNING OF TANKS PROVIDED BY OTHERS, PRESUMABLY THE U.S. OR THE FRG. THE FIRST OF THESE EFFECTS WOULD BE MANIFESTLY UNDESIRABLE AND THE SECOND, INSOFAR AS THE UNITED STATES IS CONCERNED, MANIFESTLY IMPRACTICABLE. END TEXT:BRUCE
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